

241 and planting, which begins after the first light rains of October, is done
 462 individually and principally by the men. Cotton and peanuts, however,
 [423] are women's crops. The women plant these in their husband's garden
 plots and harvest them themselves. While a new garden plot is cleared
 each year, a particular garden plot is generally used for two years and
 then abandoned. A man plants such crops as maize, beans, and peppers on
 the plot the first year and as they are harvested, he replants the plot
 with manioc. Maize is harvested from the end of December through
 February, the season of heaviest rains; while other crops are harvested
 at the end of the rains in May and June.

[241] Large gardens with many different crops guarantee to the Tapi-
 262 rapé a variety and abundance of garden stuff, but meat and fish are
 22 definitely luxuries. People in the village could not remember a time
 when there had been real hunger among them, but they were frequently
 hungry for meat and fish. This lack in the diet is supplied by frequent
 trips to the near-by Tapirapé River and the grass plains that border it
 where fish and game, principally wild pork (*Tagassu pecari*), deer,
 peccary (*Tagassu tajacu*), water fowl, and tapir (*Tapirus terrestris*)
 are found in abundance. During the dry season these plains abound in
 piqui (*Caryocar villosum*), palm nuts especially andiroba (*Carapa*
guyanensis), used for body oil — and other wild fruits.

556 Among the Tapirapé wealth is not reckoned in terms of basic sub-
 435 sistence, for these goods are so easy to obtain as to be considered with
 little regard. The possessions that lend real distinction of wealth are
 such luxury articles as the breast and tail feathers of the red parrot (*Ara*
chloroptera?), beads, and pieces of hardware acquired through contact
 with white men or trading with other Indians. These goods are accordingly
 the most valued media of exchange in the community. Other goods used
 for a medium of exchange were urucú (*Bixa orellana*), tobacco, extra
 hammocks, decorated gourds, string for binding feathers to arrows, and
 cane arrow shafts.

361 The houses of a Tapirapé village form a circle around a great central
 ceremonial men's house. There are nine of these large thatch dwellings
 with rounded roofs in the modern Tapirapé village; four to eight simple
 families (father, mother, and children) share a house. Each simple family
 591 has a section of the unpartitioned house where they lead a domestic life
 592 separate from the others. Residence is matrilocal and the women of such
 a household are ideally related by kinship; yet each large household has

Te by Bento Maciel Parente in 1616 made war upon the Tenetehara. Epidemics, which raged in the early 17th century among the Indian populations of northeast Brazil, certainly reached the Tenetehara. From time to time smallpox, measles, and other diseases have taken a heavy toll among these Indians. The impact of the dominant culture upon the Tenetehara was more intense than it has been upon the Tapirapé. In addition to differences in the nature of the contact continuum, factors inherent in the society and the culture of the two tribes were responsible for the reaction of these societies to Luso-Brazilian contact and for the population trends which followed. Since the Tenetehara and the Tapirapé have historically related cultures sharing many patterns and institutions common to most Tupi speaking tribes, a comparison of the two societies and cultures should allow us to determine the variables responsible for their contrasting reactions.

Te The subsistence methods of the tribes were in aboriginal times basically similar. Both were tropical forest horticulturalists depending upon hunting, fishing, and forest fruits to supplement their diet. For fishing, the Tenetehara had an advantage since their villages were normally situated near rivers and streams while the Tapirapé villages were located inland many kilometers from the river. In hunting, the Tapirapé had the advantage of nearby open plains country where hunting was more productive than in the tropical forest. Neither tribe had a land problem: the nearest village of the Korajé, who were Tapirapé neighbors, was at least two hundred kilometers away and the Turbira neighbors of the Tenetehara were savanna people offering no competition for forest land. Both tribes during aboriginal times had sufficient territory to move their villages every five or six years when suitable garden sites near their villages had been used up by the slash-and-burn system of horticulture. The two tribes inhabited similar physical environments and they had approximately the same technological equipment to cope with it. Their technology and their subsistence methods must have limited the maximum population of any one village and there are indications that approximately two hundred people was the average village size for both groups. On the other hand, a lack of territory evidently did not enforce a limitation on the number of villages for the tribes. Yet while the Tapirapé tell of only five villages in aboriginal times many times that number are reported by early observers for the Tenetehara. Although specific data is not available, it seems that in aboriginal times Tapirapé population was relatively small and stable while the Tenetehara population was at least twice as large and probably expanding.

Te This difference in population level between the two tribes in aboriginal times was related to the population policies held by the two groups as well as to differences in social structure of the groups concerned. These cultural values relating to population level are explicit in attitudes toward family size and in positive actions to limit families. Among the Tenetehara infanticide is indicated only in the case of the birth of twins since they are believed to be the result of sexual relations between the mother and a dangerous supernatural and in the case of infants with certain supernaturally caused

Te
181
[796]
[22] of numbers. Ceremonials in 1940 had not been abandoned but they were performed in an attenuated and disheartened manner. There was little motivation to accumulate the meat, the forest fruits, and the garden products which important ceremonials require among the Tapirapé.

Te
476
796
596
182
Te
[177] Ceremonials and cooperative economic activities in Tenetehara society are organized by extended family and kin groups. Lack of numbers, of course, creates difficulties in carrying out ceremonials and in organizing economic activities but it does not have the effect of disorganizing the society. Cooperation of large extended families in gardening and in collecting babassu nuts and copaliba oil is still the general pattern among the Tenetehara. Tenetehara social structure was malleable to change. Adjustment to new circumstances after Luso-Brazilian contact must have been easier for the Tenetehara than for the Tapirapé.

Te
Ta
161
182
183
105
571 This brief comparison of the cultural values and of those aspects of social structure of the Tenetehara and of the Tapirapé in terms of their effect upon population size and on population trends after Luso-Brazilian contact suggest several general hypotheses. First, the available information concerning the population size of these two tribes in aboriginal times indicates that the Tenetehara were much more numerous than the Tapirapé. Yet both tribes were tropical forest peoples with roughly similar technological equipment. It seems to the writer that this difference in population size between the two tribes was functionally related to ideological values and to social structure and not to differences in technology and environment. In other words, such differences in population can hardly be interpreted strictly in Malthusian terms. While population potentials are certainly limited by food supply, the level of technology, the application of medical knowledge, and other material factors, social institutions and culturally derived values are influential in determining trends in population size within the limits set by such "natural" factors.

Te
[797] Second, the social structure and the cultural values of any society are functionally related to a given population level. With change in population size, both the cultural values regarding population size and social structure must be adjusted. The Tapirapé concept of family size remained unchanged in face of modified conditions (i.e. higher death-rate caused by foreign disease) with the result that the adult population was no longer replaced by births. A rapidly declining population disrupted Tapirapé socio-ceremonial organization and affected the internal system of production and distribution. The Tenetehara with a more malleable social structure than that of the Tapirapé were able to survive the initial impact of Luso-Brazilian contact until the protection of the Jesuits allowed them to make necessary adjustments to the new circumstances.

Te
Ta
171
161
182
571 Finally, this comparison between the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara calls to mind other primitive societies whose social structure must have been functionally related to population level and to demographic trends in face of European civilization. In Brazil, the Ramakameira (Eastern Timbira) with their complex moiety system and the Apinacé with their kine marriage